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AN EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF THE INFLUENCE
OF MESSAGE ARGUMENT ORDER ON RECEIVERS'
ATTITUDE CHANGE AND RATINGS
OF SOURCE CREDIBILITY

By

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B.A., University of Montana, 1963

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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1970

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Background

Research concerned with the persuasion process and in particular receiver "attitude" change has dealt with a wide variety of variables. Source credibility, as one of these variables, has been investigated primarily from one of two approaches: (1) Research seeking to determine the relative effects of differing source credibility levels on receiver "attitude" change; and (2) Research attempting to establish valid and reliable measuring instruments of source credibility.

With respect to the first of these two approaches, researchers have attempted to establish the relative effect of differing levels of source credibility on receivers' "attitude" change. Typical examples of this basic approach include experiments by Hovland and Weiss (1951), Greenberg and Miller (1966), and Sereno (1968). In such studies the credibility of the message source has been viewed more or less as "static." In the vast majority of these studies source credibility has been viewed as an attribute which the source brings to the message situation in a completely developed state. As a "static" attribute, source credibility has been rather consistently investigated without

regard for the possibility that it may be capable of modification when other elements in the message situation interact with it. A few studies do exist that have considered source credibility as capable of modification in the message situation. Miller and Hewgill (1964) and Sereno and Hawkins (1967) investigated the relative effects of the number and kind of nonfluencies evidenced by a message source on receivers' ratings of the source's credibility. Baker (1965) studied the relative influence of the presence or absence of disorganization cues on receivers' ratings of source credibility. Brooks and Scheidel (1968) obtained receivers' credibility ratings of a message source at several different times during the source's presentation of a message. This study was an attempt to examine whether or not a source's credibility changes during the course of presenting a message. The foregoing studies are notable exceptions that have investigated source credibility in terms of its potential for modification during the presentation of a message.

The second approach followed in the investigation of source credibility is of more recent origin. In this approach research has been addressed to the problems of deriving valid and reliable scales for the measurement of source credibility.

Berlo, Lemert, and Mertz (1966) were the first to establish the multi-dimensional characteristic of source

credibility. This study found receivers to consistently evaluate a message source primarily on three judgmental dimensions: competence or qualification; trustworthiness or safety; and dynamism. The work of Berlo, Lemert, and Mertz (1966) ascertained several semantic differential scales that appear to be a sound basis for developing a rather sophisticated measuring instrument of source credibility. These scales have been empirically established and analyzed through extensive factor analysis.

Significant studies yielding findings consistent with the findings of Berlo, Lemert, and Mertz (1966) are those by McCroskey (1966), Sarbaugh (1967), and Whitehead (1968). All of these investigations have found receivers to rate a source's credibility on three primary dimensions. These dimensions have been assigned various labels by the different researchers. Regardless of the labels assigned the dimensions are the same having demonstrated consistently high factor loadings on a number of semantic differential scales employed as measures of source credibility.

Prior to this second research thrust, source credibility was seldom investigated as a dependent variable. The research by Miller and Hewgill (1964) and Baker (1965) are exceptions. The reasons for this dearth of research effort appear obvious when the significance of this second research thrust is considered. Lacking valid and reliable measuring instruments for source credibility reduced the probability

of determining the dimensions of source credibility, let alone how to measure it, both of which were crucial to treating source credibility as a dependent variable. Today, possessing valid and reliable measuring instruments of source credibility and possessing experimental evidence that source credibility is extremely influential in attempts to change receivers' "attitudes", the possibility and necessity of investigating credibility as a dependent variable seem obvious.

Such a research approach necessitates viewing source credibility not as static, but rather as dynamic. The antecedent credibility which a source brings to a message situation should be viewed as being subject to constant modification under the impact of various verbal and non-verbal elements in the message situation.

Textbooks on speech or communication commonly support this contention by stating that source credibility is subject to the effects of elements operating in the message situation.

Monroe and Ehninger (1969) state for example:

Often, however, in our daily communication activities, a speaker may initially be a relatively unknown quantity. In such situations, it is likely that intrinsic determinants - i.e., factors associated with the speaker's actual communication behavior - shape audience perceptions of his credibility.

The experimental research cited to support these assumptions usually consists of reference to investigations of what may best be classified as presentation variables. Such studies as those conducted by Miller and Hewgill (1964), Baker (1965), and Sereno and Hawkins (1967), dealt with presentation variables such as source nonfluency and source disorganization cues.

This kind of evidence supports the contention that a source's credibility may not be a static, completely developed attribute which the source brings to the message situation. It appears, then, that the most meaningful way to conceptualize source credibility is in terms of "extrinsically-generated credibility" and "intrinsically-generated credibility." In other words, we need to think of "extrinsically-generated credibility" as that attribute the source brings to the message situation. Secondly, we should think of "intrinsically-generated credibility" as that attribute with which the source leaves the message situation. "Intrinsically-generated credibility" is best viewed as a composite of "extrinsically-generated credibility" and the effects the elements in the message situation have exerted on the "extrinsically-generated credibility."

Numerous elements in the message situation may effect a change between "extrinsically-generated credibility"

and "intrinsically-generated credibility." Miller (1966) has provided a model, though not a complete representation, that serves to clarify this theoretical view.¹

Previous research regarding what Miller calls endogenous determinants of credibility has dealt in nearly all instances with presentation variables; chiefly the effects of nonfluency and disorganization as noted earlier. Previous research into the function of message variables in the persuasion process has presented a rather simple and limited picture. Researchers are agreed that receivers' reaction to message content and structure and receivers' evaluation of the message source are each individually involved in the decision the receivers make in accepting or rejecting an attempt to change their "attitude."

Experiments by Paulson (1954), Thistlethwaite and Kamenetzky (1955), Thistlethwaite, Kamenetzky and Schmidt (1956), Janis and Kelley (1963), Cohen (1966), Janis and Feierabend (1966), McGuire (1966), and Bettinghaus and Baseheart (1969), along with many others, support the relationship between message content and structure and receiver attitude change on an issue. These studies have

¹See Fig. 1--A Partial Representation of the Complexity of Process, p. 7.

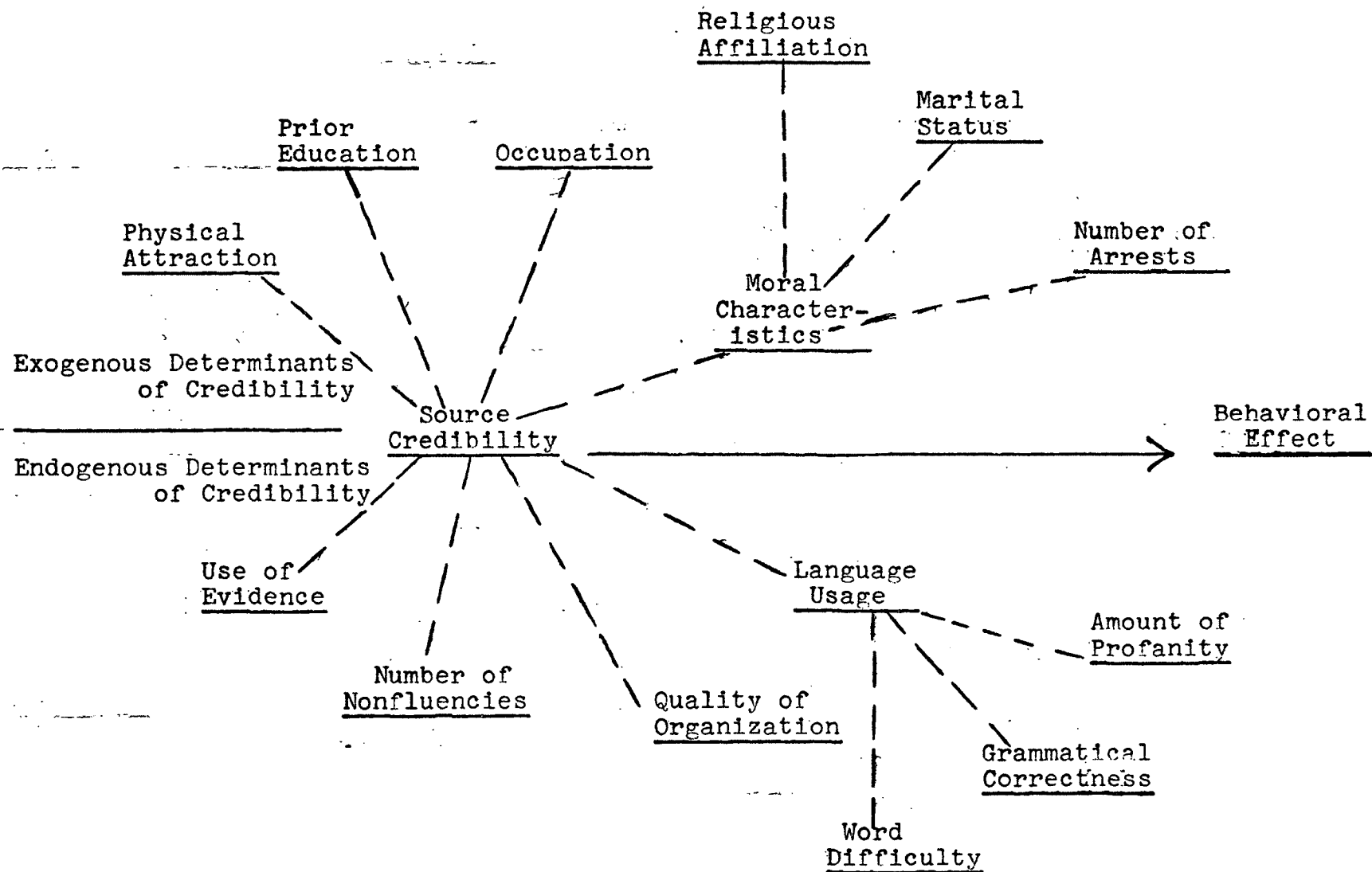


Fig. 1.--A Partial Representation of the Complexity of Process^a

^aAdapted from: Gerald R. Miller, Speech Communication (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1966), p. 37.

dealt with a wide variety of message variables ranging from one-sided presentation to two-sided presentation to presenting the message's strongest argument first or last. Findings from these and other such investigations indicate that receivers' attitude change is definitely influenced by the specific type of strategy employed in a persuasive message.

Experiments by Hovland and Weiss (1951), Hovland and Mandell (1952), Berlo and Gulley (1957), Walster and Festinger (1965), Greenberg and Miller (1966), Festinger and Maccoby (1968), along with many others all support the relationships between receivers' evaluation of the message source and receivers' "attitude" shift on an issue. Findings from these studies (Hovland and Weiss, 1951 and Berlo and Gulley, 1957), indicate that "attitude" change in the direction advocated occurs more often when the advocated change originates from a high credible source rather than a low credible source. Also, if the source is likely to be viewed unfavorably, information about the source should be delayed until after the message has been delivered (Greenberg and Miller, 1966). Finally, increased attitude change seems to occur when the message source is not viewed as being intent on influencing the audience (Walster and Festinger, 1965 and Festinger and Maccoby, 1968).

These same researchers cited in the two preceding paragraphs have shown little or no concern for any possible interaction between message content and structure and audience evaluation of the message source. Few attempts have been made to experimentally determine relationships between the verbal message variables of structure and content and receivers' evaluations of the message source. Most studies to date have employed the single-criterion measure of amount of "attitude" change accompanying differing message strategies. Common sense indicates that receivers' attitude change and source credibility are probably closely linked. The assumption can be made that specific message strategies leading to more effective receiver attitude change will also lead to higher source credibility. However, this line of reasoning presupposes a symmetrical relationship between source credibility and attitude change. Such a relationship has not been demonstrated. Research indicates that high credibility leads to greater receiver "attitude" change. However, research does not demonstrate that as receivers change attitude in a message situation, they also change their evaluation of the message source's credibility.

At this stage in the investigation of the relationships between message strategies, receivers' evaluation of source credibility, and receivers' attitude change, it seems essential to focus on the relationship between

specific message strategies and receivers' evaluation of the message source. A few researchers have attempted to investigate experimentally this relationship.

Empirical Studies Concerned With the Relationship
Between Specific Message Strategies and
Receivers' Evaluation of the
Message Source

Cathcart (1955) used variations in the presentation of evidence in a persuasive message to determine:

- (1) When attempting to establish conviction or to win belief, the speaker must use adequate evidence in support of his contentions,
- and (2) if the speaker is not considered an authority, the sources of his evidence should be cited.

Four variations of evidence presentation were employed:

- (1) No specific evidence was given;
- (2) All contentions and assertions were directly supported by evidence, but no documentation was included;
- (3) All contentions and assertions were directly supported by evidence, and documentation was supplied by inserting the source of the quotation along with place and date of its promulgation;
- (4) All evidence and documentation remained the same as in (2) and (3) above plus the qualifications of the source or the authority were also given. Findings show that all four audiences evaluated the unknown speaker responsible

for presenting the various messages as highly competent and qualified to speak on the subject.

Cathcart's findings, though not a major thrust of his study, indicated that no differences existed among receivers' evaluations of source credibility when "evidence presentation" is the independent variable. Remembering the lack of valid and reliable measuring instruments of source credibility at the time of Cathcart's investigation, his findings must be labeled inconclusive.

Gruner (1967) investigated the effect of humor on speaker credibility.² This study of humor as a specific message strategy influencing intrinsically-generated source credibility appears to be the first published evidence of such investigation. Gruner (1967) employed the semantic differential scales validated by McCroskey (1966) as the criterion measure for source credibility. This, then, is one of the earliest experimental investigations employing a validated measuring instrument of source credibility. The findings of this investigation are significant and demonstrate that the use of appropriate humor is one specific message strategy which influences a source's credibility.

²Gruner refers to credibility as being ethos.

McCroskey and Combs (1969) conducted an experimental investigation of source credibility as influenced by the specific message strategy, use of analogy. They employed two types of analogy, exposing subjects to either a literal analogy, figurative analogy or no-analogy message. Criterion measure of source credibility consisted of semantic differential scales validated by McCroskey (1966) and Berlo, Lemert, and Mertz (1966). No significant differences were observed which could be attributed to the interaction of initial credibility and specific message strategy.

These experimental investigations by Cathcart (1955), Gruner (1967), and McCroskey and Combs (1969) are indicative of the direction needed to be pursued by credibility research. Findings from these three studies provide an extremely limited amount of knowledge in the area of intrinsically-generated credibility and the necessity for continued research effort in this direction seems apparent. The essential need seems to be investigation of other specific message strategies, such as presenting one or two sides of the issue and presenting the strongest argument first or last in the message.

Specific Message Strategy: Argument Order Within the Message

The order in which a message's arguments are presented has experienced considerable experimental investigation.

This investigation has been conducted in relation to receivers' "attitude" change. In essence, such research has sought to answer questions regarding the efficacy of presenting the strongest argument first and the weakest argument last, vice versa, or, presenting a moderately strong argument first or last (e.g., Hovland et. al., 1957). The measure of the relative effectiveness of each of these argument orderings has typically been evaluated in terms of which order produces the largest degree of attitude change among receivers.

Labeling of these various methods of ordering a message's arguments and the effects the argument orderings demonstrate on receivers' "attitude" change is inconsistent in the literature. A definite lack of agreement exists among authors as to what the "appropriate" labels are and under what circumstances they should be applied.

The main confusion in terminology arises out of the use of the terms "climax", "anti-climax", and "pyramidal" order and the terms "primacy" and "recency".

Hovland, Janis, and Kelley (1953) when discussing messages which present only one side of an issue state:

A communication in which the strongest and most important arguments are reserved until the end is frequently referred to as having a "climax" order. Conversely, presentation of the major arguments at the beginning and the weaker points at the end is called anti-climax order.

These same authors go on to state that when both sides of an issue are presented successively, the most meaningful way to discuss the subsequent results is in terms of a "primacy" or "recency" effect.³

Cohen (1964) distinguishes the differences between ordering of arguments favoring only one side of an issue and order of presentation where both sides of the issue are presented in much the same manner as Hovland, Janis and Kelley (1953). Climax and anti-climax are used to describe the former, whereas primacy and recency are employed when discussing the latter.

Bettinghaus (1968) provides a somewhat different view. He states:

In terms of organization, a "climax order" is that arrangement of materials in which the most important materials are placed last; an "anti-climax order" is an arrangement in which the most important materials are presented first, and a "pyramidal order" places the most important materials in the middle. The researcher says that he has demonstrated a "primacy" effect if the material placed first in the message has the most effect. It is a "recency" effect if the material placed last in the message has the most effect.

³Primacy is employed to label results favoring the persuasiveness of the side presented first, whereas recency is used to label results favoring the persuasiveness of the side presented last.

In essence it appears that the distinctions which are made with respect to order of presentation as indicated earlier are at best somewhat inconsistent and confusing. Therefore, for purposes of avoiding confusion in this study the terms primacy, recency, and middlecy are employed. These terms are operationally defined later in this chapter⁴, but for the present no distinction is made through application of differing labels, between the ordering of a message's arguments and the comparative effects the various argument orderings demonstrate on receivers' "attitude" change.

Receiver Ego-Involvement

A final consideration is essential to achieving an accurate view of the relationships between source credibility, message structure and content, and receiver "attitude" change. This final consideration is the level of ego-involvement of the receiver with the issue to which the persuasive message is addressed. Sherif and Sherif (1967) contend that the source's credibility is dependent upon the receivers' involvement with the issue or topic of the

⁴See p. 20.

persuasive message. They suggest that the person who is unfamiliar or disinterested in an issue has few internal standards for assessing communicative content. In such a situation the identity of the source may become the major anchor for the receivers' subsequent reactions. Sherif and Sherif (1967) suggest that if receivers' are highly ego-involved with the issue, this will not be the case. Specifically, if the receivers are highly ego-involved with the issue, the source's identity is not expected to be a major anchor for the receivers' reactions to the message. The highly ego-involved receivers are expected to react to the message on the basis of the message's communicative content.

In summary, a review of the literature shows that source credibility has been investigated from two primary approaches. Researchers have investigated the relative effects that differing levels of "extrinsically-generated credibility" have on receiver "attitude" change. Researchers have also established valid and reliable scales for measuring source credibility through empirical investigation and factor analysis. Few studies have dealt with "intrinsically-generated credibility" and those that have were mainly concerned with presentation variables such as source nonfluency and disorganization. Of the few studies cited which have dealt with message strategies

as potentially related to "intrinsically-generated credibility" results are limited and inconclusive.

Possessing experimental evidence that message structure and content effect receivers' "attitude" change and experimental evidence that source credibility affects receivers' "attitude" change, the necessity for investigating the relationships between message content and structure, source credibility, and receivers' "attitude" change seemed essential.

Statement of the Problem

Purpose of Study

A limited amount of research has been conducted investigating variables inherent in the message situation which may influence the "intrinsically-generated credibility" of a message source. On the other hand, receiver "attitude" change has been investigated with regard to a multitude of potentially influential message variables. The present study emerged as a result of combining the above two considerations.

The general purpose of the study was to employ a message variable which had received considerable prior investigation regarding its impact on receivers' attitude change. In so doing, the study was designed to investigate

experimentally the relative effect of a message variable on receivers' attitude change and the "intrinsically-generated credibility" of the message source.

The study's specific intent was to demonstrate whether or not receivers, on the basis of a source's message strategy alone, would rate the credibility of the source differently depending on the specific message strategy employed by the source.

Secondly, the intent was to demonstrate what relationships may exist between receivers' ratings of the source's credibility and receivers' attitude change as a result of the specific message strategy employed by the source.

The message strategies employed in the study are inherent in the ordering of a message's arguments. The strategies chosen for investigation were the argument orderings of "primacy", "middlecy", and "recency".

Variables

Independent variables in this investigation consisted of persuasive messages which were systematically varied in terms of primacy, middlecy and recency.

Dependent variables consisted of receivers' ratings of source credibility and receivers' "attitude" change following receipt of the primacy or middlecy, or recency messages.

The controlled variable was receiver ego-involvement with the topic of the message.

Hypotheses

This investigation was governed by the following hypotheses:

- H₁ There is a significant difference in attitude between receivers exposed to a primacy or recency message associated with an unknown source and receivers exposed to a middlecy message associated with an unknown source.
- H₂ There is a significant difference in ratings of source credibility between receivers exposed to a primacy or recency message associated with an unknown source and receivers exposed to a middlecy message associated with an unknown source.
- H₃ There is no significant difference in attitude between receivers exposed to a primacy or recency message associated with an unknown source.
- H₄ There is no significant difference in ratings of source credibility between receivers exposed to a primacy or recency message associated with an unknown source.
- H₅ There is a concomitant variation between attitude and ratings of source credibility when receivers are exposed to a primacy, middlecy, or recency message associated with an unknown source.
- H₆ There is a significant difference in attitude between receivers exposed to primacy, middlecy, and recency messages associated with an unknown source and receivers exposed only to the title of a message associated with an unknown source.

- H₇ There is a significant difference in ratings of source credibility between receivers exposed to primacy, middlecy, and recency messages associated with an unknown source, and receivers exposed only to the title of a message associated with an unknown source.

Definitions

Primacy - strongest argument is presented first in the persuasive message.

Recency - strongest argument is presented last in the persuasive message.

Middlecy - strongest argument is presented in the middle of the persuasive message.

Message strategy - ordering of the message's arguments according to primacy, recency, or middlecy.

Intrinsically generated credibility - that credibility with which a source leaves the message situation; a combination of the credibility a source brings to the message situation and the effects the elements in the message situation have exerted on that credibility.

Concomitant variation - expresses the relationship between attitude change and source credibility; that is, attitude change and source credibility will either change in the same or opposite direction.

Source credibility - personal attributes of trustworthiness, competence and dynamism rated by receivers on selected semantic differential scales.

Receivers' rating of source credibility - post-test ratings of message source on nine semantic differential scales measuring trustworthiness, competence, and dynamism.

Receivers' "attitude" change - comparison of experimental subjects' and control subjects' post-test scores on four semantic differential scales selected for measuring attitude toward the message topic.

Trustworthiness - that dimension of source credibility determined by Berlo, Lemert, and Mertz (1966) as measured by selected semantic differential scales established through extensive factor analysis.

Competence - that dimension of source credibility determined by Berlo, Lemert, and Mertz (1966) as measured by selected semantic differential scales established through extensive factor analysis.

Dynamism - that dimension of source credibility determined by Berlo, Lemert, and Mertz (1966) as measured by selected semantic differential scales established through extensive factor analysis.

Rationale for the Study

In view of the rather intense investigation that argument order in a message has undergone in relation to receivers' attitude change, it seemed worthwhile to further such study in terms of how it relates to "intrinsically-generated credibility". Thus, for this study, argument order in a persuasive message was chosen as the specific message strategy that might demonstrate an interrelationship with a source's "intrinsically-generated credibility".

Prior research concerned with a message's argument order and its relative effect on receivers' attitude change

has produced fairly consistent findings. A primacy or recency ordered message is usually more effective than a middlecy ordered message in affecting receiver attitudes. Normally no differences are found between the relative effectiveness of a primacy or recency ordered message.

Previous research investigating relationships between a source's "extrinsically-generated credibility" and receivers' attitude change consistently indicates that a high credible source will affect receivers' attitude to a greater extent than will a low credible source when each delivers the same message.

The hypotheses governing the current study were formulated so as to reflect these findings of prior research relevant to this study.

A final consideration was made upon which this current study is based. Since the study sought to provide information regarding a message strategy involving argument order and its relationship to "intrinsically-generated credibility", it seemed essential to maximize the probability that receivers would attend to the message. Therefore, considering the theoretical view of ego-involvement posited by Sherif and Sherif (1967) a topic of high ego-involvement was selected⁵ for which the various messages used in the study were constructed.

⁵See: Chapter II, "Pilot Study 1", p.25.

Summary

This chapter has presented a review of the literature relevant to the problem under study along with a statement of the problem itself. Hypotheses governing the study, essential operational definitions and a rationale for the study were also included.

Chapter II provides a detailed explanation of the two pilot studies conducted as a prelude to the main experiment and an explanation of the experimental procedures followed in conducting the main experiment itself. Also included is a discussion of the manner in which the data were assembled, categorized, and recorded for executing the statistical analyses.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

General Experimental Procedures

The purpose of this section is to describe the procedure of the main experiment in terms of: (1) sample selection; (2) message construction; and (3) measuring instruments employed.

Sample Selection

Subjects for the main experiment were selected from three separate classes at the University of Montana in May, 1970. The three classes involved were Radio-T.V. 140, Journalism 290 and Communication 234. The students in these classes were predominately freshmen or sophomores. A total number of 109 subjects participated in the experiment during regular in-class hours. The 109 subjects originally participating, were eventually reduced to 100 to make the size of each treatment group equal.

The Messages

This section describes the procedures for: (1) determining a topic for which subjects indicated a relatively neutral attitude, but at the same time indicated as being

highly ego-involving; (2) determining a strong argument, a weak argument, and an argument that fell almost exactly between these two extremes; and (3) constructing the messages used in the main experiment.

Pilot Study 1

This pilot study was conducted to establish a highly ego-involving topic for use in the main experiment. At the same time it was necessary that the topic selected be relatively neutral in terms of the subject's attitudes toward it.

In April, 1970, thirty-four students enrolled in Communication 111 at the University of Montana were presented a list of ten topics believed by this researcher to be potentially highly ego-involving. These students indicated their attitudes toward each of the topics as well as the extent to which they felt ego-involved with each topic.⁶

Mean scores were computed for each topic across all subjects for the "attitude" measure and for the ego-involvement measure.

The computed means for each topic as described above are shown in the following table:

⁶See Appendix A, "Instructions and Measuring Instruments, Pilot Study 1, p. 74.

TABLE 1

"ATTITUDE" AND EGO-INVOLVEMENT MEANS FOR
THE TOPICS: PILOT STUDY 1

Topic	"Attitude"	"Ego- Involvement"
1. Population Control Measures Should Be Established Immediately In the U.S.	5.941	5.382
2. The University of Montana Athletic Budget Should Be Reduced	4.147	4.058
3. Public Demonstrations Should Not Be Strictly Controlled	3.500	4.500
4. The U.S. Space-Moon Program Should Be Continued	4.500	4.764
5. Marijuana Should Be Legalized In The U.S.	4.441	4.588
6. Withdrawal of U.S. Troops From Viet Nam Should Be Diminished	2.705	5.500
7. Abortion Should Be Legalized Throughout the U.S.	5.647	4.323
8. Euthenasia (Mercy Killing) Should Be Legalized in the U.S.	3.764	3.911
9. The Sale of Cigarettes Should Be Abolished Completely	3.617	3.500
10. Drug Addiction Should Be Treated As An Illness	5.794	4.323

As a result of the pilot study Topic 3 was chosen for use in the primary experiment. Three factors influenced this decision: (1) topic 3 demonstrated "attitude"

neutrality of 3.5 on a 7 point scale where a score of 1 indicated a very strong negative "attitude" and a score of 7 a very strong positive "attitude" toward the topic; (2) the topic demonstrated a rather high level ego-involvement mean of 4.50 on a 7 point scale where a score of 1 indicated slight ego-involvement and a score of 7 indicated high ego-involvement; and (3) a wealth of written material was readily available from which the message arguments could be constructed.

Once the topic for the primary experiment had been established the next step was to specify the three arguments which would be used to construct a primacy, a middlecy and a recency message. That task defined the purpose of Pilot Study 2.

Pilot Study 2

This section describes the procedures for selecting the three arguments which would be used in constructing the messages for the primary experiment. The task was two-fold: (1) it was necessary to select a strong argument, a weak argument and an argument which fell almost exactly between these two extremes; and (2) it was essential that no significant differences existed between each of the three arguments in terms of the amount of strength each argument possessed. That is, the difference in amount of

strength between the strongest argument and the medium strength argument could not be significantly more or less than the difference in the amount of strength between the weakest argument and the medium strength argument.

In April, 1970, one week following Pilot Study 1, eighteen students enrolled in Communication 111 at the University of Montana were asked to read a list of ten arguments which supported a lack of control regarding public demonstrations. None of the Ss used for Pilot Study 1 was among the eighteen Ss who participated in Pilot Study 2. An effort was made to keep the length of each argument consistent with all other arguments. Each argument consisted of a thesis statement and a restatement for clarification. Immediately after reading the ten arguments all Ss were asked to rank them from strongest to weakest.⁷

Mean scores were computed for each argument across all subjects to determine the relative strength of each argument.

As a result of this pilot study arguments 2, 6 and 9 were selected for use in constructing the experimental messages. The computed mean for each argument is shown in the following table:

⁷See: Appendix B, "Instructions, Arguments and Method of Argument Ranking", Pilot Study 2, p. 81.

TABLE 2
 MEANS ILLUSTRATING RELATIVE STRENGTH OF
 ARGUMENTS: PILOT STUDY 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
\bar{X}	4.89	3.83	4.67	6.39	5.94	5.72	4.56	6.28	8.	4.72

The decision to select arguments 2 and 9 was obvious since they fell at the two extremes of the means of the argument rankings. Ss' rankings of arguments 2 and 9 also show the arguments to be equivalent in extremes of strength on the positive-negative attitude scale. That is, argument 2, the strongest argument, was ranked in the 1 to 5 range by fifteen Ss and in the 6 to 10 range by only three Ss. Argument 9, on the other hand, received fifteen rankings in the 6 to 10 range and only three rankings in the 1 to 5 range. Thus, the same number of Ss indicated a positive attitude toward argument 2 as indicated a negative attitude toward argument 9.

Two arguments fell almost exactly between arguments two and nine in terms of Ss' attitude and thus either could have been used as the medium strength argument.

These were arguments five with a mean of 5.94 and argument six with a mean of 5.72. The decision to select argument six as the medium strength argument was made because it satisfied the need for central tendency more satisfactorily than did argument five. Argument six received rankings by eleven of the eighteen Ss falling between 4 and 7, whereas argument five received only six rankings in this same range.

In summary, Pilot Study 1 determined the topic used in the primary experiment and Pilot Study 2 allowed for the selection of the three arguments used to construct the primacy, middlecy and recency messages. Having accomplished these necessary preliminary steps, the messages were then constructed. The method for constructing the messages is detailed in the following section.

Method of Message Construction

A series of guidelines were established and followed in the construction of the messages. These guidelines are explained in detail below.

Four messages were constructed⁸ utilizing the three arguments derived from Pilot Study 2⁹. Each message was constructed using some order variation of these three arguments. One message, designated "primacy", presented argument two (A_1) first, argument six (A_2) second and

⁸See: Appendix C, "The Messages", p. 84.

⁹See: Chapter II., "Pilot Study 2", Results.

argument nine (A_3) last.¹⁰ That is, the strongest argument was presented first and the weakest argument was presented last in the "primacy" message. The message designated "recency" presented the arguments in the order A_3 , A_2 , A_1 which was weakest first and strongest last. Two messages were constructed which constituted the "middlecy" messages. Of these two messages one presented the arguments in the order A_3 , A_1 , A_2 and the other presented the arguments in the order A_2 , A_1 , A_3 . These two order versions were employed and a mean of the combination of the two was used in scoring the "middlecy" ordering of arguments in a message. The rationale for this procedure was to avoid the possible bias that might occur by placing the weakest argument first or last in the message.

Each of the three arguments employed was developed in basically the same manner. The fundamental format was to state the thesis of the argument, provide a few sentences of clarification and amplification of the thesis, listing of several historical examples to support the argument, and finally to conclude the argument by a restatement of the thesis. An effort was made to keep the three arguments about the same length in total and to do the same thing for each of the argument components listed above.

¹⁰ Throughout the remainder of this paper argument two will be shown as A_1 , argument six as A_2 and argument nine as A_3 . A_1 indicates strongest argument, A_2 indicates medium strength and A_3 indicates the weakest argument.

All messages had identical titles, introductions, transitions and conclusions. In addition, all transitions were placed at the same point within the various messages.

A final consideration was made in constructing the messages. The decision was made to develop messages that would require approximately ten minutes to read. This decision was made as it was felt that less receiver exposure to a persuasive attempt would limit the potential a message may possess for demonstrating an influence on receivers.

In essence, the only aspect of the messages manipulated was the order in which the three arguments were placed within each message.

The Measuring Instruments

The measuring instruments chosen for this investigation consisted of semantic differential scales.¹¹ Two sets of scales were selected, one of which was used to measure receiver "attitude" and the other to measure receiver ratings of source credibility.

The scales constituting the "attitude" instrument utilized bi-polar adjectives with high factor loadings on the evaluative dimension. There were four of these semantic

¹¹See: Appendix D, "The Measuring Instruments", p. 108.

differential scales interspersed among five semantic differential scales using bi-polar adjectives with high activity or potency loadings. The evaluative dimension bi-polar scales employed were good-bad, warranted-unwarranted, wise-foolish, and necessary-unnecessary. Only scales loading highly on the evaluative factor were scored.

The nine scales used for the credibility rating instrument were selected from the scales developed by Berlo, Lemert and Mertz (1966). These scales employ bi-polar adjectives demonstrating high factor loadings regarding trustworthiness, competence and dynamism. Three scales were chosen for measuring each dimension of source credibility. The bi-polar scales employed to measure credibility were safe-dangerous, active-passive, trained-untrained, openminded-closeminded, frank-reserved, just-unjust, bold-timid, experienced-unexperienced, and informed-uninformed.

The preceding section described the instruments that were administered to all four experimental groups as well as the control group. The next section details specific procedures followed in conducting the main experiment.

Specific Experimental Procedures

Specific procedures followed in conducting the main experiment are explained below. A figure of the overall experimental design is provided as a prelude to this explanation and as an aid to a clearer understanding of the experiment itself. The total design is summarized as follows:

Measure	Primacy	Middlecy ₁	Middlecy ₂	Recency	Control
Attitude	X	X	X	X	X
Credibility	X	X	X	X	X

Fig. 2.--Diagram of Total Experimental Design

Five different sets of handouts were constructed for use in the experiment. One set was developed for the control group, one set for the "primacy" ordered message group, one set for the "recency" ordered message group and two different sets for the "middlecy" ordered message group. The only difference among the handouts for the experimental groups was in the ordering of arguments in the messages. All instructions were identical for all experimental groups. Each set contained twenty-five handouts.

Prior to conducting the experiment each set of handouts was numbered consecutively beginning with 1 - 25 for the control group, 26 - 50 for the "recency" group, 51 - 75 and 76 - 100 for the two "middlecy" groups and 101 - 125 for the "primacy" groups. Then, using a table of random numbers, the 125 handouts were placed in random order so as to control for potential bias.

At the beginning of the experimental session with each of the three classes participating in the experiment, the experimenter was introduced by the class instructor as being a graduate student conducting a research project. The class was then read the following by the experimenter:

In recent years and even within the last couple of weeks mass demonstrations have entered the limelight of public concern. We at the University of Montana have, for the first time, actually found ourselves directly and actively involved in such demonstrations. Your professor has agreed to your participation, during regular class time, in this project designed to obtain some of your reactions regarding the issue of mass demonstrations. At this time you will receive a self-explanatory handout. It will be given to you face down. Please leave it that way and do not begin at this time. When I tell you, please read it and follow the instructions it contains. Do not be concerned if you should find individuals around you engaged in activities that differ from what you are doing. Several different activities will be taking place at the same time. If you receive a handout which contains a blue sheet labeled STOP, please do not proceed beyond that blue sheet until asked to do so. Please do not place your name on this handout.

As soon as the experimenter had concluded these oral introductory comments, two experimental assistants distributed the handouts across rows so as to incorporate the random order established for subject assignment to a given group, whether experimental or control. These handouts were distributed face down to avoid some subjects beginning ahead of others. When all subjects had received a handout the experimenter told them to turn the handouts over and begin.

In describing the manner in which subjects in the various groups proceeded through the handouts, it seems most clearly understandable to follow the procedure for the control group and then to do the same for the experimental groups.

Upon turning the handout over, the control subjects read the following written introduction and instructions:

Public demonstrations have occurred with great frequency within the last few years. Examples of such demonstrations include student protests, race riots, and mass political disturbances. These public demonstrations, though originally non-violent, have become increasingly more violent in nature. As a result of this increasing violence in public demonstrations numerous efforts are being made to strictly control such demonstrations. Much has been said and written on both sides of the "control - no control" issue regarding public demonstrations.

What follows is the title to a message dealing with the issue of whether or not public demonstrations should be strictly controlled. Please indicate your reactions to the position indicated by the title. Also, mark your reactions to the kind of source you imagine might present a message supporting the position advocated by the title.

This is not a test; there are no "right" or "wrong" answers. What we want is your own personal response to each of the scales that follow.

Please rate the issue regarding strict control of public demonstrations on each of the scales that are listed underneath it. Please do the same for the credibility of the hypothetical message source. Note that there are seven steps on each scale. A mark (x) at one end of the scale means "extremely." A mark (x) in the position second from either end means "quite." A mark (x) in the middle position of any scale means that you are neutral or undecided or do not feel that the scale applies to the concept. Only one position should be marked on any scale, but please mark all scales. Please place your marks within the intervals as _____: x : _____ rather than on the lines as _____ x _____.

The next step was for the control Ss to react to the scales measuring "attitude" toward the topic and ratings of credibility for a source who might present a message supporting the topic.¹²

As soon as control subjects completed the scales they read the following comments prefacing the "primacy" ordered message:

¹² See: Appendix D, "The Measuring Instruments, p. 108.

What follows, is a message discussing issues involved in the control of public demonstrations. Please read carefully. You have approximately ten minutes to read the message.

Control subjects then read the message and subsequently read these instructions prior to responding to the scales again:

Once again we would like you to give your opinions on the control of public demonstrations as well as your opinions of the kind of individual who would write the message you just read. Please do not turn back to your previous evaluations.

When Ss had concluded reading the above instructions and filling out the scales again, control subjects had completed their part in the experiment. It is important to note that everything that control subjects did subsequent to filling out the first set of scales was simply designed to keep them busy for approximately the same time as the experimental groups without making their task appear nonsensical. The data from the final set of scales was not designed for use in this study in any way.

While control subjects were following the sequence of steps outlined above, the experimental subjects were engaged in a somewhat different procedure. The experimental subjects began by reading the following:

Public demonstrations have occurred with great frequency within the last few years. Examples of such demonstrations include student protests, race riots, and mass political disturbances. These public demonstrations, though originally non-violent, have become increasingly more violent in nature. As a result of this increasing violence in public demonstrations numerous efforts are being made to strictly control such demonstrations. Much has been said and written on both sides of the "control - no control" issue regarding public demonstrations.

What follows is a written message which contains three arguments favoring a lack of strict control of public demonstrations whether violent or non-violent. Please read this message carefully. You will have 10 minutes in which to do so.

When this written introduction and the instructions had been read, the experimental subjects read the message which they had been randomly assigned. Some subjects read a "primacy" message, others read a "recency" message, and so on. These subjects were allowed ten minutes to read the message, but in all classes they finished in about eight minutes. When the experimenter was satisfied by a show of hands that all subjects had finished reading the message, subjects were told to turn past the blue page marked STOP and to read these instructions:

This is a survey to determine your reactions to the issue regarding strict control of public demonstrations and also your reactions to the source of the message you just read. This is not

a test; there are no "right" or "wrong" answers. What we want is your own personal response to each of the scales that follow.

Please rate the issue regarding strict control of public demonstrations on each of the scales that are listed underneath it. Please do the same for the credibility of the source of the message. Note that there are seven steps on each scale. A mark (x) at one end of the scale means "extremely." A mark (x) in the position second from either end means "quite." A mark (x) in the middle position of any scale means that you are neutral or undecided or do not feel that the scale applies to the concept. Only one position should be marked on any scale, but please mark all scales. Place your marks within the intervals as _____: _____ x : _____ rather than on the lines as _____ x _____: _____.

Experimental subjects completed their part in the experiment by responding to the scales at the end of the handout.

When all subjects were finished, the experimenter thanked them for their co-operation, and all handouts were collected by the experimenter and the experimental assistants.

Data Analysis

This section explains the method by which the data were assembled and recorded preparatory to executing the statistical analyses.

Data for each subject were gathered in two ways: (1) from the attitude scales; and (2) from the credibility scales. Thus, each subject had indicated his attitude toward the topic by marking an x on each of nine scales. Each subject had likewise rated the credibility of the message source by marking an x on each of nine scales designed to measure his responses in that respect. Only four of the nine attitude scales were scored as explained earlier.¹³ It was necessary to transform the Ss' x's into numerical data suitable for statistical analyses. The transformation was accomplished in exactly the same manner for both the attitude and the credibility data.

First, the positive end of each scale was assigned a value of 1. The negative end of each scale was assigned a value of 7. Since there were seven intervals on each scale, each interval received a value ranging from one to seven depending on the end of the scale to which it was closer. Thus, an x at the positive extreme of a scale received a 1, an x in the middle of a scale received a 4, and so on.

Second, as soon as each x marked on each scale for every subject on both attitude and credibility ratings was transformed to numerical data, the scores on all scales

¹³ See: Chapter II, "The Measuring Instruments", p. 32.

pertaining to a given measure were totaled. That is, each subject obtained a total score for attitude by adding the scores for the individual attitude scales together and a score for rating the source's credibility by adding the credibility scale scores together. Thus for each subject the most positive attitude score attainable by summing across the attitude scales was a 4 and the most negative attitude possible was a 28. Since there were nine credibility scales, the strongest positive credibility rating possible was a 9 and the strongest negative credibility rating possible was a 63.

Finally, when the total score for each subject on attitude and the total score on the credibility ratings had been computed, these total scores were placed into two tables; one for attitude and one for ratings of source credibility. This was done by subject for each measure.

In summary, this chapter has described the methods by which a highly ego-involving topic was selected for use in the main experiment. Procedures for selecting the arguments to be used in the messages and the method for constructing the messages were also detailed. Specific procedures were outlined in terms of the sequential steps followed in actually conducting the experiment. Finally, a description of the manner in which the data were

assembled and recorded for subsequent data analyses was provided.

Chapter III discusses the statistical analyses applicable for testing the hypotheses under study and reports the results and major findings of the main experiment.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the statistical analyses which are appropriate for the hypotheses under study.

A precis of the statistical analyses used in the study follows. Initially the t-test for independent measures (Winer, 1962) was applied to determine whether or not there was a significant difference between the two middlecy treatment groups. A simple one-way analysis of variance (Winer, 1962) was employed to test the tenability of hypotheses 1, 3 and 6 regarding attitude change. Hypotheses 2, 4 and 7, related to source credibility ratings, were also tested by application of a simple one-way analysis of variance. Finally, the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation statistic (Winer, 1962) was employed to test hypothesis 5. All of the above statistics are parametric and were chosen because the interval level of measurement was assumed. Statistical findings were evaluated at the .05 level of confidence.

As explained in Chapter II, two separate middlecy message treatments were employed in this study. This procedure was essential to avoid potential argument ordering

bias. As a necessary prelude to the subsequent analyses chosen to test the hypotheses governing this study, the t-test for independent measures was applied to determine if the two middlecy treatments produced significantly different results. This was done to establish, if possible, a rationale for randomly selecting one of the two middlecy treatments for use in subsequent data analyses so as to keep the size of all treatment N's equal. The comparison of the means for the two middlecy treatments computed by employing the t-test for independent measures is summarized in the following tables:

TABLE 3

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE MEANS OF MIDDLECY TREATMENT 1
AND MIDDLECY TREATMENT 2 RESULTING FROM TOTAL SCORES
ON ATTITUDE SCALES

Statistic	Middlecy Treatment 1	Middlecy Treatment 2
N	20	20
\bar{X}	11.25	12.30
$t = .74^*$		

*NS

TABLE 4

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE MEANS OF MIDDLECY TREATMENT 1
AND MIDDLECY TREATMENT 2 RESULTING FROM TOTAL SCORES
ON RATINGS OF SOURCE CREDIBILITY SCALES

Static	Middlecy Treatment 1	Middlecy Treatment 2
N	20	20
\bar{X}	28.15	30.60
$t = .81^*$		

*NS

In both the attitude comparison and the ratings of source credibility comparison a t-score of 1.684 was necessary for significance at the .05 level of confidence. The comparison of attitude scores yielded a $t = .74$ and the comparison of credibility rating scores demonstrated a $t = .81$. Therefore, no significant difference was found to exist between the two middlecy treatments on either of the comparisons. These findings allowed the experimenter freedom to select the data from either middlecy treatment for use in the analysis of variance statistic. If the two middlecy treatments had been found to be unequal, it would have been necessary to include both in the analysis of variance and to make separate comparisons between each

middlecy treatment and all other treatments. Thus, the Ss who were exposed to the middlecy treatment based on the 3-1-2 argument ordering were selected for use in the subsequent analyses.

Testing of hypotheses 1, 3 and 6 was conducted employing a simple one-way analysis of variance. Results of the comparison of the primacy, middlecy and recency treatments and control condition are summarized in the following table:

TABLE 5

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE FOR ATTITUDE SCORES ON PRIMACY, MIDDLECY, RECENCY, AND CONTROL CONDITION

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Total	2264.80	79	--	-
Between	72.30	3	24.10	.84*
Within	2192.50	76	28.85	-

*NS

The hypothesis that there is a significant difference in attitude change between receivers exposed to a primacy or recency message associated with an unknown source and

receivers exposed to a middlecy message associated with an unknown source cannot be accepted with confidence. The evidence suggests that on the basis of total scores resulting from the attitude scales, receivers exposed to any of the three message treatments will indicate nearly equal attitudes toward the topic of the messages.

The hypothesis (H_3) of no significant difference in attitude change between receivers exposed to a primacy or recency message associated with an unknown source was supported. Support for H_3 suggests that a primacy or recency message affects receivers' attitude to a similar degree.

The hypothesis (H_5) that there is a significant difference in attitude change between receivers exposed to primacy, middlecy and recency messages associated with an unknown source and receivers exposed only to the title of a message associated with an unknown source cannot be considered tenable. Statistical evidence gathered in this study suggests that messages with well-formed arguments favoring non-control of public demonstrations produced attitude ratings no different from attitude ratings of the message title only.

Comparisons of the three message treatments and the control condition employed in this study regarding receivers'

ratings of source credibility were also executed through use of a simple one-way analysis of variance. Results gathered by testing three hypotheses (H_2 , H_4 , and H_7) using this statistic are summarized in the following table:

TABLE 6

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SOURCE CREDIBILITY RATING SCORES FOR PRIMACY, MIDDLECY, RECENCY AND CONTROL CONDITION

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Total	5966.80	79	--	-
Between	67.30	3	22.43	.29*
Within	5899.50	76	77.63	-

*NS

The hypothesis (H_2) that there is a significant difference in ratings of source credibility between receivers exposed to a primacy or recency message associated with an unknown source and receivers exposed to a middlecy message associated with an unknown source cannot be considered tenable. Comparison of total scores resulting from the source credibility rating scales provides evidence that receivers exposed to any of the three message treatments will manifest equal credibility ratings of the unknown message source.

The hypothesis (H_4) of no significant difference in ratings of source credibility between receivers exposed to a primacy or recency message associated with an unknown source was supported. The statistical evidence indicates that receiver exposure to either a primacy or recency message will result in quite similar credibility ratings of the unknown source associated with the message.

The hypothesis (H_7) that there is a significant difference in ratings of source credibility between receivers exposed to primacy, middlecy and recency messages associated with an unknown source and receivers exposed only to the title of a message associated with an unknown source cannot be accepted with confidence. Evidence from this study demonstrates that the credibility of an unknown source will be rated similarly by receivers whether the receivers are exposed to any of the three message treatments or only to the title of the message with which the unknown source is associated.

Testing of H_5 was achieved through application of the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation. This correlation analysis compared total scores resulting from the attitude scales with total scores resulting from the source credibility rating scales. Separate comparisons were made for each message treatment. Results from these statistical comparisons are summarized in the following table:

TABLE 7

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN MESSAGE TREATMENTS
AND ATTITUDE/CREDIBILITY MEASURES

Message Treatment	Attitude/Credibility Correlation
Primacy	.05*
Middlecy	.39**
Recency	.30***

*NS
**NS
***NS

The hypothesis (H_5) that there is a concomitant variation between attitude and ratings of source credibility when receivers are exposed to a primacy, middlecy, or recency message associated with an unknown source cannot be accepted. Evidence in the form of coefficients of correlation indicates that no relationship exists between attitudes expressed by receivers exposed to any one of the three message treatments and the receivers' credibility ratings for an unknown source associated with the messages. That is, receiver attitude and receiver ratings of source credibility were not found to be associated in the same or opposite directions.

In summary, the statistical analyses which were applied to the data gathered in the study reveal that hypotheses 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7 are not tenable with regard to the procedures employed in this study. Hypotheses 3 and 4 were supported in view of the statistical evidence provided.

Chapter IV consists of a detailed discussion of implications and conclusions pertinent to the hypotheses investigated and the results in this chapter.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

General Conclusions

This section presents a summary of the experiment, general and specific conclusions resulting from the experiment, and suggestions for future replications and modifications of the experiment.

The experiment investigated seven hypotheses.¹⁴ These hypotheses predicted specific relationships between receivers' attitudes toward a message topic and receivers' ratings of source credibility as influenced by primacy, middlecy, and recency orderings of a message's arguments. These hypothesized relationships were posited on the basis of prior research relevant to the area of attitude and source credibility.

Four experimental treatments and one control condition were employed in the study. The four experimental treatments consisted of one primacy message, two middlecy messages, and one recency message. Two middlecy treatments

¹⁴See: Chapter I, Hypotheses, page 19.

were used as a check for potential middlecy ordering bias,¹⁵ but were found to be statistically equal. Therefore, final data analysis was based on three experimental treatments (the experimenter having randomly selected one of the two middlecy treatments) and one control condition.

Each experimental treatment group read a written message supporting the topic, "Public Demonstrations Should Not be Strictly Controlled." The messages read by all groups were identical in all respects except for the order in which the arguments were presented within each message. The experimental groups responded to semantic differential scales measuring attitude toward the message topic and credibility ratings for the unknown message source. These scales were administered immediately following Ss exposure to the messages. The control group responded to the same scales as did the experimental groups, but the control group was exposed only to the title of the message associated with an unknown source who might deliver a message supporting the position advocated by the message title.

All data were subjected to statistical analyses appropriate for testing the hypotheses governing the experiment.

¹⁵See: Chapter III, page 44.

Within the scope of the study and on the basis of obtained results, five of the seven hypotheses (H_1 , H_2 , H_5 , H_6 and H_7) were not supported. The two hypotheses (H_3 and H_4) were supported. The experimental treatments employed in the study did not produce results significantly different from each other nor different than the control condition. The procedures followed did not show primacy, middlecy, or recency ordering of a message's arguments to have differing effects on receivers' attitudes toward the message topic or on receivers' credibility ratings of the unknown message source. Also, receivers exposed to the three message treatments indicated attitudes toward the message topic and credibility ratings of the unknown message source equivalent to attitudes and credibility ratings expressed by control receivers who were exposed only to the topic of the message.

In total, the experiment suggests that when an unknown source is associated with a message, argument strategies involving primacy, middlecy, or recency do not have differing effects on the intrinsically-generated credibility of the unknown message source or on receivers' attitude toward the message topic. This general conclusion is apparent when the receivers are college students and the message topic is controversial and highly ego-involving.

Specific Conclusions

For purposes of depth and clarity, the following conclusions are outlined:

1. Procedures followed in Pilot Study 1 enabled the experimenter to discover a topic that Ss indicated a relatively neutral attitude toward but at same time indicated as being highly ego-involving.
2. The ranking procedure employed in Pilot Study 2 made it possible to obtain three suitable arguments for constructing the primacy, middlecy, and recency messages. Specifically, the ranking procedure allowed for determination of a strong argument, a weak argument, and an argument that fell almost exactly between these two extremes.
3. It was possible to construct three messages that were identical in every respect except for the order in which the arguments were presented within each message. This provided for the creation of the primacy, middlecy, and recency messages as employed in the main experiment.

4. Two different middlecy messages were used in the main experiment to check for potential argument ordering bias in the middlecy treatment. A subsequent application of the t-statistic showed the two middlecy messages to be equivalent in terms of their relative effects on receivers' attitude toward the message topic and receivers' ratings of the unknown message source's intrinsically-generated credibility. This finding provided a justifiable basis for randomly selecting one of the two middlecy treatments for use in statistical analyses chosen for testing the tenability of the study's hypotheses.
5. Application of a simple one-way analysis of variance found that primacy, middlecy, and recency message treatments did not produce results significantly different than the control condition with regard to receivers' attitude toward the message topic or receivers' ratings of the unknown message source's intrinsically-generated credibility.

6. Application of a simple one-way analysis of variance found no significant differences between the three message treatments in terms of obtained results regarding receivers' attitude toward the message topic or receivers' ratings of the unknown message source's intrinsically-generated credibility.
7. Application of the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation to compute correlations for each message treatment between receivers' attitude change toward the message topic and receivers' ratings of the unknown message source's intrinsically-generated credibility found no significant correlations for any of the message treatments. In other words, correlational analysis of the data did not demonstrate the existence of a concomitant variation between receivers' attitude toward the message topic and receivers' ratings of source credibility.

Comments

The results of this experiment raise certain questions that will hopefully provide a stimulus for future research in the area of attitude change and intrinsically-generated source credibility as they may be influenced by various orderings of a message's arguments.

Perhaps the overriding question is why the experiment failed to duplicate all the consistent findings of previous studies that dealt with the relationships between attitude change and the order of presenting arguments in a message. In this study the only conclusion that coincides with the consensus of earlier studies is that no significant difference was found between the relative effects of a primacy or recency message on attitude change. However, the primacy and recency messages did not demonstrate attitude change results significantly different than the middlecy message, nor were any of the message treatments shown to be significantly different than the control condition. Previous research indicates that such differences should have occurred. There are several possible explanations as to why these differences were not found in this study.

First, unlike prior studies, the messages in the experiment were associated only with an unknown source. Earlier studies typically attributed the messages to high or low credible sources with an explanation of who the message source was and what qualifications he possessed. It seems possible on reviewing the findings of this study that receivers are not likely to be persuaded by a message addressed to a highly ego-involving topic, regardless of

the order of the message's arguments, when the receivers know nothing about the source of the message. If a persuasive message representing a highly ego-involving topic is to be effective, it may be necessary to provide information to receivers about the message source. In other words, it may be essential to make the message source a known quantity to receivers when the topic is highly ego-involving. A meaningful modification in a replication of this study should incorporate the additional independent variable of differing extrinsically-generated credibility levels for the source associated with the messages. In other words, receivers would be exposed to identically-ordered messages, but the messages would be associated with a high credible source and a low credible source in addition to the unknown source. Such a modification in replicating this study would allow for comparisons of attitude change among receivers exposed to primacy, middlecy, and recency messages, each of which would be associated with the three levels of extrinsically-generated credibility. These comparisons should indicate if associating messages with an unknown source reduces the potential the messages may possess for affecting receivers' attitudes under the experimental conditions of this study.

Second, it is possible that procedures followed in Pilot Study 2 were not as sophisticated as might be desirable. In Pilot Study 2 Ss ranked only the thesis statements of ten arguments in order from strongest to weakest. Use of this procedure was based on the assumption that if the support for each was developed by the same method, ranking only the thesis statements of several arguments would provide data equivalent to ranking the several completely developed arguments including their support. A future replication of this study could test the merit of this assumption by incorporating two pilot studies regarding the ranking of arguments for purposes of ultimately selecting a strong argument, a weak argument, and an argument falling in the middle of these two extremes. One of the pilot studies would have Ss rank only the thesis statements of several arguments, whereas the other would have Ss rank several completely developed arguments. Comparison of the results obtained in the two pilot studies should serve to test the assumption underlying Pilot Study 2 in this experiment. Support or rejection of this assumption would appear crucial to understanding why the primacy and recency messages did not prove more effective than the middlecy message in affecting receivers' attitude. If the assumption cannot be supported, it is probable that primacy, middlecy, and recency messages

were not in fact created for use in the main experiment since the strongest and weakest completely developed arguments may not have been determined in the first place. If this were the case, it is understandable that this study did not find results consistent with previous primacy, middlecy, and recency research.

Third, and closely related to the first answer suggested as a possible reason that primacy and recency messages did not prove superior to the middlecy message nor any of the message treatments superior to the control condition, was the topic chosen for use in the study. Selecting a topic with high receiver ego-involvement may have reduced the potential for any of the messages to have a persuasive effect. Sherif and Sherif (1965) suggest that receivers highly ego-involved with a topic pay closer attention to a message related to that topic than do receivers possessing lesser ego-involvement. It is possible that receivers who are highly ego-involved with a particular topic may demand more from a message than receivers who are not highly ego-involved. In such a case the message employed in this experiment would have little chance of affecting receiver attitude since the messages were quite short, and only one type of support was used for the message arguments. Two modifications for future replication of this study seem relevant in

view of this possibility: (1) It is suggested that longer messages be used to increase the length of receiver exposure to the persuasive attempt; and (2) It is suggested that another method or methods of developing support for the arguments be utilized. These modifications should assist in determining what, if any, effect these factors have on changing receivers' attitude under these experimental conditions.

Fourth, the manner in which the message title was phrased may have induced an anticipatory set among the receivers. If this occurred, each message may have had less of an opportunity to demonstrate results different than any other message as receivers would have reacted to each message in light of the anticipatory set produced by the title. A useful modification to include in a replication of this study might be to use a message title that merely asks a question regarding an issue. In this study the title could have been phrased "Should Public Demonstrations Be Controlled?" as an alternative to the title of advocacy which was used. This procedure would seem to reduce the potential for the title to produce an anticipatory receiver set when the message source is unknown.

The preceding modifications suggested to be incorporated into future replications of this experiment

were presented with regard to their potential influence on this experiment's findings regarding receivers' attitude change toward the message topic. It is important to note that each of these suggested modifications may also be influential regarding receivers' ratings of the intrinsically-generated credibility of the source associated with a message. For example, receivers may rate a source's intrinsically-generated credibility differently, depending on the argument order of the message presented to them, if the message is presented by a high or low credible source. In addition, the credibility of the unknown message source may have been rated the same by all treatment groups if the primacy and recency messages were not actually created because of the potential weakness associated with Pilot Study 2 in this study. Also, receivers rating a source's credibility may demand more internal development from a message than this study's messages provided when the topic is highly ego-involving. Finally, the manner in which the message title was stated i.e., direct advocacy, may have produced an anticipatory set which induced all receivers to rate the source's intrinsically-generated credibility the same for all treatments. Therefore, the experimenter recommends that these modifications for testing potential effects on

receivers' attitudes be employed when testing potential effects on receivers' ratings of intrinsically-generated source credibility.

Another question raised by the experiment is why no concomitant variation was found to exist between receivers' ratings of intrinsically-generated source credibility and receivers' attitude change. Prior research investigating the relative effects of differing levels of extrinsically-generated credibility has consistently shown more receiver attitude change occurs when a persuasive message is associated with a high credible source than with a low credible source. Why, then, did this experiment find no correlation between intrinsically-generated credibility ratings and receivers' attitude change for any of the three message treatments? Again, the answer may be that the messages were associated with an unknown source. Future replications should probably, as indicated earlier in this chapter, investigate the influence a message's argument order has on the intrinsically-generated credibility of high, low, and unknown sources associated with the message. It may be that a concomitant variation does exist between receivers' ratings of intrinsically-generated source credibility and receivers' attitude change when the message source is a known quantity in terms of extrinsically-generated credibility.

Another question arising from this study revolves around the possibility that the experimenter may have been viewed by the receivers as the unknown message source. This could have occurred since the experimenter conducted the experiment with all Ss. If the experimenter was viewed as the unknown message source, all receivers may have rated the credibility of the message source on the basis of what the experimenter did and said apart from the messages themselves. In the future, effort should be made to eliminate the experimenter as potentially being viewed as the message source so as to insure that the message is the primary stimulus for receivers' ratings of intrinsically-generated source credibility.

It may be possible to eliminate Ss viewing the experimenter as the message source by telling them that they were chosen as part of a nationwide sample to participate in a research project being conducted by some specific research center. The experimenter and his assistants would then be introduced as representatives of the center conducting the research in this geographical area. The message would be attributed to an anonymous author presenting a written message supporting one side of the issue concerning control vs. non-control of public demonstrations. At any rate, a future replication should include some modification to reduce the possibility that the experimenter is viewed by research Ss as the message source.

A final point must be considered in light of the fact that this study did not produce results consistent with the findings of most prior research. The hypotheses governing this study were formulated to reflect the findings of previous research related to attitude change and source credibility. A number of suggested modifications have been posited for inclusion in replications of the experiment. The purpose of these suggested modifications is to test and possibly correct for potential weaknesses in the experiment. However, this current study may have failed to demonstrate findings consistent with prior research for another reason. Most prior research dealing with primacy, middlecy, and recency did not account for receiver ego-involvement with the message topic as a variable that may influence the results of such research. The studies that have considered this variable typically selected a topic of high receiver ego-involvement. The method employed in these studies for choosing a highly ego-involving topic is suspect since the selection was made on the basis of the experimenter's subjective judgment. That is, a topic was considered highly ego-involving if the experimenter believed it to be so. The present study employed a method for determining a highly ego-involving topic which eliminated the experimenter's subjective judgment. Therefore, it seems likely that this

study was based on a topic of high ego-involvement whereas in many instances previous studies may not have employed highly ego-involving topics. Should this be the case, considerable doubt is placed on the theory that has arisen from research to date. Specifically, primacy and recency have been shown to be more effective than middlecy as argument ordering strategies in a message. This experiment suggests that when the messages represent a highly ego-involving topic no such differential effect is likely to occur. In addition, when the message topic is highly ego-involving it may severely reduce a message's potential for affecting receivers' attitude. This would account for the fact that the control condition in this experiment produced results equivalent to the experimental treatments with regard to attitude change and ratings of source credibility. In summary, this study suggests that high receiver ego-involvement with a topic may be an overriding variable in any investigation dealing with a message's argument order as it affects receivers' attitude change and ratings of source credibility.

The questions raised in this study should provide a stimulus for more detailed research regarding the relationships between a message's argument order, receivers' attitude change, and receivers' ratings of intrinsically-generated source credibility.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Instructions and Measuring Instruments

Pilot Study 1

Please indicate on the scale corresponding to each issue your attitude regarding each issue. Note that there are seven steps on each scale. A mark (x) at one end of the scale means "extremely." A mark (x) in the position second from either end means "quite." A check in the position third from the end means "slightly." A check in the middle position of any scale means that you are neutral or undecided. Only one position should be checked on any given scale, but please check all scales. Place your mark (x) within each step as _____: x : _____ not as _____ x _____: _____.

POPULATION CONTROL MEASURES SHOULD
BE ESTABLISHED IMMEDIATELY IN THE U.S.

Positive Attitude _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Negative Attitude

THE UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA ATHLETIC BUDGET
SHOULD BE REDUCED

Negative Attitude _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Positive Attitude

PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS SHOULD NOT BE STRICTLY CONTROLLED

Positive Attitude _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Negative Attitude

THE U. S. SPACE-MOON PROGRAM SHOULD BE CONTINUED

Negative Attitude _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Positive Attitude

MARIJUANA SHOULD BE LEGALIZED IN THE U.S.

Positive Attitude _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Negative Attitude

WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS FROM VIET-NAM
SHOULD BE DIMINISHED

Negative Attitude _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Positive Attitude _____

ABORTION SHOULD BE LEGALIZED THROUGHOUT THE U.S.

Positive Attitude _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Negative Attitude _____

EUTHENONA (MERCY KILLING) SHOULD BE LEGALIZED IN THE U.S.

Negative Attitude _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Positive Attitude _____

THE SALE OF CIGARETTES SHOULD BE ABOLISHED COMPLETELY

Positive Attitude _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Negative Attitude _____

DRUG ADDICTION SHOULD BE TREATED AS AN ILLNESS

Negative Attitude _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Positive Attitude _____

As individuals we typically hold an attitude toward any given issue. You indicated this on the preceding pages. Such attitudes range from positive to neutral to negative depending on the particular issue in question. Asking an individual to state his attitude on some issue provides an indication as to which way his feelings run regarding that issue. However, this does not give any indication as to the extent that an individual feels ego-involved with the issue. In other words, an individual may lean in a certain direction as to his attitude regarding an issue, but he may or may not feel highly ego-involved with the issue. On the other hand, an individual may hold a neutral attitude toward an issue due to a lack of knowledge, but be highly ego-involved with the issue nevertheless.

The possible combinations between attitude toward an issue and ego-involvement toward that issue are many. Some examples are:

I have a positive attitude toward trading stamps and

I do not feel very ego-involved with them.

I have a neutral attitude toward Fiat automobiles

(because I do not know much about them) and I do not feel very ego-involved with them.

I have a negative attitude toward nuclear testing and

I feel highly ego-involved with it.

etc.

Therefore, regarding each of the following issues for which you have already expressed an attitude, please indicate on the scale corresponding to each issue the extent to which you feel ego-involved with that issue.

Place an x in the space which indicates the extent of your ego-involvement with each issue. Please mark each scale, but only once.

Highly Slightly
Ego-Involved _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Ego-Involved

Slightly Ego-Involved _____ Highly Ego-Involved

Highly Slightly
Ego-Involved _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Ego-Involved

Slightly
Ego-Involved _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Highly
Ego-Involved

Highly Slightly
Ego-Involved _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Ego-Involved

WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS FROM VIET-NAM
SHOULD BE DIMINISHED

Slightly
Ego-Involved _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ Highly
Ego-Involved

ABORTION SHOULD BE LEGALIZED THROUGHOUT THE U.S.

Highly							Slightly
Ego-Involved	:	:	:	:	:	:	Ego-Involved

EUTHENONA (MERCY KILLING) SHOULD BE LEGALIZED IN THE U.S.

Slightly
Ego-Involved _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ Highly
Ego-Involved

THE SALE OF CIGARETTES SHOULD BE ABOLISHED COMPLETELY

Highly Ego-Involved _____ Slightly Ego-Involved _____

DRUG ADDICTION SHOULD BE TREATED AS AN ILLNESS

Slightly
Ego-Involved : : : : : : Highly
Ego-Involved

APPENDIX B

Instructions, Arguments and Method of Argument Ranking

Pilot Study 2

Public demonstrations have occurred with great frequency within the last few years. Examples of such demonstrations include student protests, ghetto riots, and mass political disturbances. These public demonstrations, though originally non-violent, have become increasingly more violent in nature. As a result of this increasing violence in public demonstrations numerous efforts are being made to strictly control such demonstrations.

What follows here is a statement of ten arguments which provide reasons as to why public demonstrations, whether violent or non-violent, should not be strictly controlled.

1. Historically, non-violent methods have been ineffectual as a means toward achieving minority goals. In other words, minority goals have typically been achieved through some form of violence.
2. Protests, riots, and mass political demonstrations are not always useless, unnecessary, and un-American. History indicates that such demonstrations have often served purposes contradictory to such negative claims.
3. Groups in the majority or possessing power do not typically share their power with outsiders without being threatened by violence. That is, the powerful majority has seldom relinquished any of its power to minority groups.
4. Violence, although usually a minority action, typically represents large domestic groups and is not usually the product of outside agitation. In essence, people who promote minority violence are normally members of that minority group.
5. Peaceful progress is a myth in the U.S. -- violent action is historically the key to progress. That is, violence and progress are more often linked in U.S. history than are progress and peaceful means.
6. A mature economy works against the peaceful emergence of minority groups. Such an economy favors the majority to the extent that violence is the only avenue open to minorities.
7. Escalated counter-force is an unacceptable response to minority group violence. Violence breeds more violence and therefore, as the counter-force of the majority is increased we can expect minority use of force to also increase.
8. Suggested compromise or moderate submission to minority requests is an unsatisfactory means of controlling violence. Majority efforts which have employed these two methods to limit minority group violence have usually been unsuccessful.
9. Transformation appears to be history's best indicated answer to minority group violence. If we wait long enough conditions will change naturally which will eliminate or render unnecessary minority group violence.
10. Threat of legal penalties is an unsatisfactory method of controlling minority group violence. Minority group violence normally moves underground and becomes terroristic in response to legal penalty threat.

Please rank the above 10 arguments according to the directions below.

List the 5 strongest arguments of the above 10.

--	--	--	--	--

List the 5 remaining arguments of the above 10.

--	--	--	--	--

List the 4 strongest arguments of the above 5.

--	--	--	--

List the 4 strongest arguments of the above 5.

--	--	--	--

List the 3 strongest arguments of the above 4.

--	--	--

List the 3 strongest arguments of the above 4.

--	--	--

List the 2 strongest arguments of the above 3.

--	--

List the 2 strongest arguments of the above 3.

--	--

List the strongest argument of the above 2.

--

List the strongest argument of the above 2.

--

APPENDIX C
The Messages

Primacy

Public Demonstrations Should Not Be Strictly Controlled

Many books have been written which have attempted an in depth analysis of the pros and cons of this issue. No such attempt will be made in this short message. The intent is, however, to quickly, concisely, and as adequately as a message of this short nature allows, present three of the reasons why we should not strictly control public demonstrations.

First of all, protests, riots, and mass political demonstrations are not always useless, unnecessary, and un-American. History indicates that such demonstrations have often served purposes contradictory to such claims. However, reactions to recent riots, protests and demonstrations reveal a widely held belief that these kinds of occurrences are unnecessary and anti-American. The assumption underlying such reactions is that all other domestic groups advanced themselves by other more peaceful means. This is definitely a false assumption. History is full of examples which illustrate this point.

A few such examples include:

The revolts of eighteenth-century farmers and tumultuous urban demonstrations in sympathy with the French Revolution were used by Jeffersonians to create a new two-party system over the horrified protests of the Federalists.

Northern violence ended the southern slave kingdom and subsequent southern terrorism ended Radical Reconstruction.

The changes that occurred in labor-management relations were achieved during a wave of bloody strikes in the midst of a depression.

Black people in urban ghettos made their greatest political gains in Congress and the cities during the 1960's race riots.

American Indian uprisings beginning early in the seventeenth century and extending into the later 1800's were aimed at protecting their land and freedom against the invading white settlers. Unsuccessful though these uprisings were, they remained the only available means by which the American Indian could hope to attain his goals.

The chapter now being written in history regarding student protests which began in the middle 1960's is yet to be completed. Indications from all sides suggest, however, that these protests are the only useful means by which

American students can expect their demands to be recognized and met.

Thus, history suggests time and time again that domestic violence is neither un-American nor, in every case, unnecessary and useless.

The second reason for not controlling public demonstrations is that a mature economy works against the peaceful emergence of minority groups. Such an economy favors the majority to the extent that violence is frequently the only avenue open to minorities. The mature economy demonstrates several easily identifiable characteristics which work against the minority groups. These characteristics include: Slowing down of economic growth rate; labor unions usually monopolize jobs and multiply apprenticeship requirements; family forms as well as small businesses become obsolete; and, educational and professional standards for employment are raised. These obstacles tend to render peaceful minority group emergence to fantasy and at the same time increase the need for violence.

Again, history indicates numerous examples which serve as support for this argument.

In the years between 1940 and 1960 the United States economy entered a stage of comparatively advanced maturity. This economy found itself dominated by an age of giant corporations and under the strong influence of post-industrial automation. Small wonder that rural negroes

who entered northern cities by the millions during these years found their financial, social, and political mobility curtailed by this mature economy. Race riots in the 1960's were the subsequent result because peaceful methods had apparently failed to assist the negro in accomplishing his goals and needs.

The American Indian has always encountered considerable difficulty in his attempts to gain full membership in all phases of American society. Faced with the problems a mature economy provides such a minority group, the American Indian finds his frustrations on the increase. His educational opportunities are greater now in the mature United States economy than they were prior to the 1940's. Yet, he still encounters numerous other obstacles today that tend toward stalemating his complete societal emergence.

Farmers and ranchers within the last ten years have also met with frustration and dissolutionment as their desires, needs, and peaceful demands are continually neglected.

So, it would seem rather obvious that a mature economy definitely does work against the peaceful emergence of minority groups.

A final reason for not controlling public demonstrations is that transformation or evolution is sometimes thought to be one of history's best indicated answers to

minority group violence. The basic belief is that if we wait long enough conditions will change naturally which will eliminate or render unnecessary minority group violence. Such violence, whether in the form of protest, riot, or mass public demonstration cannot be effectively resolved through any form of positive action on the part of the majority. Constantly changing circumstances following the course of time ultimately provide satisfactory answers to the unrest experienced by minority groups. Once again, history is replete with examples which demonstrate the validity of this line of reasoning.

A few such examples include:

During the years 1880-1920 the United States experienced its greatest period of industrial growth. As such the growing urban population began to need the services of urban entrepreneurs even if they were Irish barkeepers and Jewish tailors.

This same industrializing economy experienced the need for strong backs, even those of Italian and Polish peasant farmers.

Numerous other system transforming explosions allowed the integration of minority group needs to take place. Westward expansion, the civil war, the world wars, and the great depression are but a few such examples.

2

Farmer violence on the Appalachian frontier ended between 1799 (the date of the Fries Rebellion) and 1828 (Andrew Jackson's election) and a national transformation allowed for the exercise of collective power by the West.

The Louisiana Purchase solved the crying needs of farmers by providing them with a continent to till and rule.

Organized labor's rise to power resulted from a depression and a war which transformed America almost beyond recognition. This same transformation made it possible for whole collectives to rise rapidly into the suburban middle class.

Thus, transformation or evolution does seem to be an effective answer to minority group violence. The majority must be patient in the face of minority violence as the passing of time will bring about changes that will naturally satisfy minority needs.

Hopefully, in the short time we've had together as you read this message those of you who were not convinced that we should avoid strict control of public demonstrations are now at least leaning in that direction. For those of you who already favored the position of no control the hope is that this conviction has become even stronger.

~

Middlecy₁Public Demonstrations Should Not Be Strictly Controlled

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A few such examples include:

In the years between 1940 and 1960 the United States economy entered a stage of comparatively advanced maturity. This economy found itself dominated by an age of giant corporations and under the strong influence of post-industrial automation. Small wonder that rural negroes who entered northern cities by the millions during these years found their financial, social, and political mobility curtailed by this mature economy. Race riots in the 1960's were the subsequent result because peaceful methods had apparently failed to assist the negro in accomplishing his goals and needs.

The American Indian has always encountered considerable difficulty in his attempts to gain full membership in all phases of American society. Faced with the problems a mature economy provides such a minority group, the American Indian finds his frustrations on the increase. His educational opportunities are greater now in the mature United States economy than they were prior to the

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The second reason for not controlling public demonstrations is that protests, riots, and mass political demonstrations are not always useless, unnecessary, and un-American. History indicates that such demonstrations have often served purposes contradictory to such claims. However, reactions to recent riots, protests and demonstrations reveal a widely held belief that these kinds of occurrences are unnecessary and anti-American. The assumption underlying such reactions is that all other domestic groups advanced themselves by other more peaceful means. This is definitely a false assumption.

Again, history indicates numerous examples which serve as support for this argument.

The revolts of eighteenth-century farmers and tumultuous urban demonstrations in sympathy with the French Revolution were used by Jeffersonians to create a new two-party system over the horrified protests of the Federalists.

Northern violence ended the southern slave kingdom and subsequent southern terrorism ended Radical Reconstruction.

The changes that occurred in labor-management relations were achieved during a wave of bloody strikes in the midst of a depression.

Black people in urban ghettos made their greatest political gains in Congress and the cities during the 1960's race riots.

American Indian uprisings beginning early in the seventeenth century and extending into the later 1800's were aimed at protecting their land and freedom against the invading white settlers. Unsuccessful though these uprisings were, they remained the only available means by which the American Indian could hope to attain his goals.

The chapter now being written in history regarding student protests which began in the middle 1960's is yet to be completed. Indications from all sides suggest, however, that these protests are the only useful means by which American students can expect their demands to be recognized and met.

Thus, history suggests time and time again that domestic violence is neither un-American nor, in every case, unnecessary and useless.

A final reason for not controlling public demonstrations is that transformation or evolution is sometimes thought to be one of history's best indicated answers to minority group violence. The basic belief is that if we wait long enough conditions will change naturally which will eliminate or render unnecessary minority group violence. Such violence, whether in the form of protest,

riot, or mass public demonstration cannot be effectively resolved through any form of positive action on the part of the majority. Constantly changing circumstances following the course of time ultimately provide satisfactory answers to the unrest experienced by minority groups. Once again, history is replete with examples which demonstrate the validity of this line of reasoning.

A few such examples include:

During the years 1880-1920 the United States experienced its greatest period of industrial growth. As such the growing urban population began to need the services of urban entrepreneurs even if they were Irish barkeepers and Jewish tailors.

This same industrializing economy experienced the need for strong backs, even those of Italian and Polish peasant farmers.

Numerous other system transforming explosions allowed the integration of minority group needs to take place. Westward expansion, the civil war, the world wars, and the great depression are but a few such examples.

Farmer violence on the Appalachian frontier ended between 1799 (the date of the Fries Rebellion) and 1828 (Andrew Jackson's election) and a national transformation allowed for the exercise of collective power by the West.

The Louisiana Purchase solved the crying needs of farmers by providing them with a continent to till and rule.

Organized labor's rise to power resulted from a depression and a war which transformed America almost beyond recognition. This same transformation made it possible for whole collectives to rise rapidly into the suburban middle class.

Thus, transformation or evolution does seem to be an effective answer to minority group violence. The majority must be patient in the face of minority violence as the passing of time will bring about changes that will naturally satisfy minority needs.

Hopefully, in the short time we've had together as you read this message those of you who were not convinced that we should avoid strict control of public demonstrations are now at least leaning in that direction. For those of you who already favored the position of no control the hope is that this conviction has become even stronger.

Recency

Public Demonstrations Should Not Be Strictly Controlled

Many books have been written which have attempted an in depth analysis of the pros and cons of this issue. No such attempt will be made in this short message. The intent is, however, to quickly, concisely, and as adequately as a message of this short nature allows, present three of the reasons why we should not strictly control public demonstrations.

First of all, transformation or evolution is sometimes thought to be one of history's best indicated answers to minority group violence. The basic belief is that if we wait long enough conditions will change naturally which will eliminate or render unnecessary minority group violence. Such violence, whether in the form of protest, riot, or mass public demonstration cannot be effectively resolved through any form of positive action on the part of the majority. Constantly changing circumstances following the course of time ultimately provide satisfactory answers to the unrest experienced by minority groups. History is full of examples which illustrate this point.

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majority must be patient in the face of minority violence as the passing of time will bring about changes that will naturally satisfy minority needs.

The second reason for not controlling public demonstrations is that a mature economy works against the peaceful emergence of minority groups. Such an economy favors the majority to the extent that violence is frequently the only avenue open to minorities. The mature economy demonstrates several easily identifiable characteristics which work against the minority groups. These characteristics include: Slowing down of economic growth rate; labor unions usually monopolize jobs and multiply apprenticeship requirements; family farms as well as small businesses become obsolete; and, educational and professional standards for employment are raised. These obstacles tend to render peaceful minority group emergence to fantasy and at the same time increase the need for violence.

Again, history indicates numerous examples which serve as support for this argument.

In the years between 1940 and 1960 the United States economy entered a stage of comparatively advanced maturity. This economy found itself dominated by an age of giant corporations and under the strong influence of post-industrial automation. Small wonder that rural negroes who entered northern cities by the millions during these

years found their financial, social, and political mobility curtailed by this mature economy. Race riots in the 1960's were the subsequent result because peaceful methods had apparently failed to assist the negro in accomplishing his goals and needs.

The American Indian has always encountered considerable difficulty in his attempts to gain full membership in all phases of American society. Faced with the problems a mature economy provides such a minority group, the American Indian finds his frustrations on the increase. His educational opportunities are greater now in the mature United States economy than they were prior to the 1940's. Yet, he still encounters numerous other obstacles today that tend toward stalemating his complete societal emergence.

Farmers and ranchers within the last ten years have also met with frustration and dissolutionment as their desires, needs, and peaceful demands are continually neglected.

So, it would seem rather obvious that a mature economy definitely does work against the peaceful emergence of minority groups.

A final reason for not controlling public demonstrations is that protests, riots, and mass political demonstrations are not always useless, unnecessary, and un-American. History indicates that such demonstrations have

often served purposes contradictory to such claims. However, reactions to recent riots, protests and demonstrations reveal widely held belief that these kinds of occurrences are unnecessary and anti-American. The assumption underlying such reactions is that all other domestic groups advanced themselves by other more peaceful means. This is definitely a false assumption. Once again history is replete with examples which demonstrate this line of reasoning.

A few such examples include:

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APPENDIX D

The Measuring Instruments

Public Demonstrations Should Not Be Strictly Controlled

good: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: bad

active: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: passive

un-
warranted: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: warranted

simple: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: complex

foolish: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: wise

fast: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: slow

necessary: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: un-
necessary

strong: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: weak

difficult: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: easy

Credibility of the Message Source

safe: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: dangerous

passive: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: active

untrained: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: trained

open-
minded: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: close-
minded

reserved: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: frank

just: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: unjust

bold: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: timid

inex-
perienced: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: exper-
ienced

informed: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: un-
informed